

From Social Solidarity to Transactional Relations: The Transformation of the *Ompangan* Tradition in Marriage Celebrations Among the Madurese Muslim Community in Kubu Raya

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24260/ijssls.1.1.23>

Received: 12-03-2025

Revised: 12-05-2025, 19-05-2025

Accepted: 19-05-2025

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Abstract

The practice of gift-giving during marriage celebrations has long served as an expression of social solidarity deeply embedded within the Madurese Muslim community. However, evolving social, economic, and cultural dynamics have driven a significant shift in the values underpinning this practice, particularly in the context of the *ompangan* tradition. Critical studies examining the transformation of this tradition—from a voluntary act of giving to a reciprocal obligation accompanied by social sanctions—remain scarce. This article seeks to address this gap by exploring the shifting values within the *ompangan* tradition among the Madurese Muslim community in Sui Kakap Subdistrict through empirical research employing a socio-legal approach. Data collection was conducted through participant observation and structured interviews with seven key informants. The findings indicate that the *ompangan* tradition has undergone a transformation from an affective and tradition-based social act into one characterized by rational-instrumental actions. This transformation is marked by systematic record-keeping, rigid expectations of repayment, and the imposition of social sanctions through stigmatization. Normatively, the practice of *ompangan* has shifted from being understood as a *hibah* (gift) to resembling a *qard* (loan) due to the community's heightened

expectations of repayment. The article argues that the process of adatisation of transactional norms, which blurs the boundaries between social solidarity and economic relations, carries significant implications for the intensification of social inequalities and symbolic segregation within the community. Consequently, this study recommends strengthening customary law frameworks that are more adaptive and participatory to redirect the transformation of *ompangan* practices toward the principles of mutual assistance in line with the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*) within the context of Islamic marriage celebrations.

[Tradisi pemberian hadiah dalam perayaan pernikahan merupakan ekspresi solidaritas sosial yang telah mengakar dalam komunitas Muslim Madura. Namun, dinamika sosial, ekonomi, dan budaya yang berkembang telah mendorong pergeseran nilai dalam praktik tersebut, khususnya dalam tradisi ompangan. Kajian kritis yang menelaah transformasi makna dari pemberian sukarela menjadi kewajiban timbal balik yang disertai sanksi sosial masih sangat terbatas. Artikel ini bertujuan mengisi kekosongan tersebut dengan menelaah pergeseran nilai dalam tradisi ompangan di komunitas Muslim Madura di Kecamatan Sui Kakap, melalui penelitian lapangan dengan pendekatan sosio-legal. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi partisipatif dan wawancara terstruktur dengan tujuh informan kunci. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa tradisi ompangan telah mengalami transformasi dari tindakan sosial berbasis nilai afektif dan tradisional menjadi tindakan yang lebih rasional-instrumental, ditandai dengan pencatatan sistematis, kewajiban pengembalian yang rigid, serta pemberlakuan sanksi sosial berbasis stigma. Secara normatif, tradisi ompangan bergeser dari akad hibah (pemberian) menjadi akad qard (hutang-piutang) akibat ekspektasi pengembalian yang menguat di masyarakat. Artikel ini berargumentasi bahwa proses adatisasi norma transaksional yang mengaburkan batas antara solidaritas sosial dan relasi ekonomi berimplikasi terhadap penguatan potensi ketimpangan sosial dan segregasi simbolik dalam komunitas. Oleh karena itu, studi ini merekomendasikan penguatan hukum adat yang lebih adaptif dan partisipatif agar transformasi tradisi ompangan dapat diarahkan kembali pada prinsip tolong-menolong yang sesuai dengan tujuan hukum Islam (maqāṣid al-sharī'ah) dalam perayaan perkawinan Islam.]

Keywords: Madurese Muslim Community, Marriage Celebration, *Ompangan* Tradition, Social Solidarity, Transactional Relationships.

Introduction

The tradition of gift-giving in marriage celebrations, once viewed as an expression of social solidarity and cohesion, is currently facing complex challenges arising from dynamic transformations in economic, social, and cultural spheres.¹ The shift of marriage ceremonies from intimate family settings to more formal venues, such as

¹ See: Semiha Nurdan, "Sultan II. Selim'in Kızları İsmihan Sultan, Gevherhan Sultan ve Şah Sultan'a Verilen Çeyizler," *Türkiyat Mecmuası / Journal of Turkology* 33, no. 2 (December 29, 2023): 721–36; Florence Maillachon, "Le Cœur et La Raison. Amis et Parents Invités Au Mariage," *Genèses* 83, no. 2 (August 1, 2011): 93–117; F. Skott, "Wedding as an Arena for Conflicts," *RIG Kulturhistorisk Tidskrift*, no. 4 (2012): 193–209.

banquet halls, has introduced new forms of social stratification, where the level of extravagance serves as a marker of economic status. This change has created significant psychosocial pressures on lower-income groups, who feel compelled to conform to standards that are often disproportionate to their financial capabilities.² At the same time, the forces of modernization have contributed to a transition from traditional gifts to monetary contributions, which, while practical, have inadvertently transformed the nature of social relations into more transactional forms, thereby weakening the emotional dimensions that once formed the core of these practices. Consequently, new tensions have emerged, pitting the necessity to meet economic demands against the preservation of the social values that underpin communal life.³

Furthermore, customary practices associated with marriage, such as the symbolic handover of the bride by her father, often perpetuate gender and class inequalities under the guise of tradition.⁴ In this context, individual acts of conformity reflect the efforts of marrying couples to negotiate their identities amidst rigid and entrenched social norms.⁵ Although the concept of *al-ta'awun* (mutual assistance)—which underpins the solidarity mechanisms within the Malay-Muslim community—continues to serve as a collective support system for addressing the financial burdens of marriage celebrations,⁶ contemporary social realities reveal an intensifying tension between these traditional values and the more pragmatic and calculative demands of modernity. This situation necessitates critical reflection that not only considers cultural dimensions but also emphasizes social justice in transforming marriage practices toward more inclusive and adaptive forms grounded in the authentic spirit of mutual cooperation (*gotong-royong*).

The shift in the values and meanings of gift-giving practices within marriage celebrations, as previously described, is also evident in the *ompangan* tradition among the Madurese Muslim community in the Sui Kakap Subdistrict of Kubu Raya Regency. Initially, the *ompangan* tradition represented a voluntary practice in which guests would offer money or goods to the host family to collectively alleviate the financial burden of organizing the event.⁷ However, this tradition has undergone a significant transformation in meaning. What was once a voluntary act without expectations of reciprocity has evolved into an informal yet socially binding

² Oludayo Tade and Magdaline Aimeanota Nnamani, "Symbolic Status of Space: Event Centre Culture and Patronage in Nigeria," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 52, no. 5 (August 2017): 646–56.

³ Yaniv Shani, Shai Danziger, and Marcel Zeelenberg, "The Dark Side of Giving Monetary Gifts," in *Rediscovering the Essentiality of Marketing*, ed. Luca Petruzzellis and Russell S. Winer, Developments in Marketing Science: Proceedings of the Academy of Marketing Science (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 161–161.

⁴ Julia Carter, "Traditional Inequalities and Inequalities of Tradition: Gender, Weddings, and Whiteness," *Sociological Research Online* 27, no. 1 (March 2022): 60–76.

⁵ Julia Carter and Simon Duncan, "Wedding Paradoxes: Individualized Conformity and the 'Perfect Day,'" *The Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (January 2017): 3–20.

⁶ S.N.M.S. Husin, R. Azahari, and A.A. Rahman, "The Practice of al-Ta'awun in the Wedding Expenditure of Malay-Muslims in Malaysia," *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 28, no. 2 (2020): 1467–84.

⁷ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure, October 17, 2024.

reciprocal obligation.⁸ The practice of recording *ompangan*, originally intended for administrative purposes, has shifted into a mechanism of social control that demands repayment of at least an equivalent amount, with any shortfall perceived as a social debt, potentially resulting in informal sanctions from the community. This transformation not only contravenes the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), which positions *hibah* (gift) as a voluntary act without an obligation of return, but also reflects a broader shift from affective-traditional social actions to more rational-instrumental actions governed by rigid reciprocity logic.

Previous studies have demonstrated that gift-giving traditions in marriage ceremonies play a critical role in reinforcing social cohesion, constructing cultural identities, and supporting the economic stability of communities. Traditions such as *Bales Nae* in Lombok and *Nahu Sanamang* in Tulehu, Maluku, illustrate how patterns of mutual assistance and social reciprocity during weddings contribute to strengthening kinship ties and preserving local values.⁹ Meanwhile, Svetlana Yu. Barsukova's study highlights how wedding traditions in Kazakhstan impose financial pressures on middle-class families, who rely on kinship networks to navigate social expectations through a reciprocal gift economy.¹⁰ Similarly, Darsul S. Puyu et al.'s research on *Mansai* in Central Sulawesi reveals how gift-giving practices have undergone religious legitimation through the concept of living sunnah.¹¹ On the other hand, Semiha Nurdan's historical study emphasizes the importance of understanding the social, economic, and symbolic contexts of practices such as dower (*mahr*) and gift presentation (*seserahan*).¹² However, there remains a gap in critical scholarship that examines the transformation of gift-giving from a voluntary act to an obligatory practice accompanied by social sanctions, as observed in the *ompangan* tradition among the Madurese Muslim community. Accordingly, this study seeks to fill that gap by arguing that the *ompangan* tradition has undergone a value transformation that blurs the boundaries between value-based solidarity actions and social actions rooted in structured reciprocal calculations. Ultimately, this shift reproduces social relations that are increasingly transactional, hierarchical, and potentially conducive to injustice within the community.

This study is based on field research that employs a socio-legal approach to analyze Islamic law through the lens of social theory. The fieldwork was conducted over three months, from September to November 2024, in the Sui Kakap Subdistrict

⁸ Muhdor, Interview with a Religious Figure, November 12, 2024.

⁹ See: Afthon Yazid et al., "The Role of Bales Nae Tradition in Strengthening Family Harmony and Social Cohesion in the Sasak Community of Lombok, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 22, no. 1 (June 30, 2024): 79–94. Samad Umarella, "Nahu Sanamang in the Tradition of Tulehu Indigenous People: A Study of Reciprocity in Maluku," *Journal of Ecohumanism* 3, no. 7 (October 21, 2024): 2450–65.

¹⁰ Svetlana Yu. Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions: On Wedding Costs of Medium Income Urban Families in Kazakhstan," *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya*, no. 5 (May 15, 2024): 128–40.

¹¹ Darsul S. Puyu et al., "Mansai in the Marriage Tradition of the Banggai Ethnic in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia: A Living Sunnah Perspective," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (July 12, 2023): 1352–72.

¹² Nurdan, "Sultan II. Selim'in Kızları İsmihan Sultan, Gevherhan Sultan ve Şah Sultan'a Verilen Çeyizler," 721–36.

of Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. Data were collected through participant observation of various *ompangan* practices and structured interviews with seven key informants, including two religious leaders, one community leader, one member of the host family, and three members of the Madurese Muslim community who are actively engaged in the *ompangan* tradition. The data were analyzed qualitatively using Max Weber's social action theory,¹³ which emphasizes the subjective meanings that actors attach to their actions and the orientations of these actions, which can range from traditional and affective forms to more calculative and instrumental ones. This framework was utilized to explore how actors maintain a balance between social relations and the legitimacy of prevailing customary norms.

The Legal Status of Attending Wedding Celebrations from the Perspective of Islamic Jurisprudence

Wedding celebrations (*walimah al-‘urs*) are intricately linked to the institution of witnessing, as the presence of two witnesses is one of the essential elements (*arkān*) of marriage in Islam. Etymologically, *walimah al-‘urs* refers to a marriage banquet or celebration. Terminologically, it signifies the formalization of a marriage, which publicly announces that the couple is now legally husband and wife, while also expressing gratitude to Allah for the occasion. Additionally, a wedding celebration may include hosting a communal meal as an expression of joy and festivity. The wisdom (*ḥikmah*) underlying the requirement for witnesses in marriage emphasizes the importance of the marital bond and ensures its public acknowledgment. This transparency helps prevent any form of suspicion or negative assumptions regarding the newlyweds.¹⁴

According to the majority of Islamic jurists, hosting a *walimah al-‘urs* is considered a recommended act (*sunnah*). This view is predominant among the Mālikī, Ḥanafī, and certain segments of the Shāfi‘ī jurisprudential traditions. In contrast, the legal status of attending a *walimah al-‘urs* is regarded by most jurists as an individual obligation (*farḍ ‘ayn*). This obligation is supported by various hadiths, including one narrated by Imam Muslim: “*Whoever is invited to a wedding banquet and does not attend has disobeyed the Messenger of Allah.*” Furthermore, this obligation extends to those who are fasting; they are still required to attend the banquet, even if they do not partake in the meal. This is further illustrated in the hadith narrated by Imām Aḥmad, Imām Muslim, and Abū Dāwūd: “*If one of you is invited to a wedding banquet, let him attend. If he is fasting, let him offer prayers (of blessing), and if he is not fasting, let him eat from the food provided.*”¹⁵

In many Muslim societies, including Indonesia, the *walimah al-‘urs* has evolved into both a religious and cultural practice, traditionally held before the consummation of marriage. In this context, it has also become customary for invited

¹³ See: Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, Nachdr., vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

¹⁴ Wahbah al-Zuhailī, *Al-Fiqh al-Islamī wa Adillatuh*, vol. 7 (Damaskus: Dār Al-Fikr, 1985), 124.

¹⁵ Al-Zuhailī, 7:125–26.

guests to bring gifts, whether in the form of goods or monetary contributions.¹⁶ Similarly, when these guests host comparable events, the practice of gift-giving is reciprocated. This exchange symbolizes goodwill, reinforces social ties, and provides essential items to assist the newlyweds as they embark on their life together. While guests are generally not strictly obligated to bring gifts when attending a *walimah al-‘urs*, social norms often render it inappropriate to do otherwise.¹⁷ This practice is deeply intertwined with the principle of reciprocity, serving to maintain and strengthen social bonds.¹⁸ The tradition of exchanging gifts during the *walimah al-‘urs* is rooted in Islamic teachings that encourage mutual assistance in acts of goodness, as emphasized in Sūrah al-Mā'idah [5] verse 2, which calls upon Muslims to support one another in righteousness and piety, particularly in matters of marriage.

The *Ompangan* Tradition in Wedding Celebrations Among the Madurese Muslim Community

Sui Kakap Subdistrict, located in Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan Province, covers an area of 585.14 square kilometers and comprises 15 villages. The subdistrict plays a strategic role in the fisheries and agricultural sectors due to its proximity to coastal waters. According to demographic data from 2023, the population of the subdistrict is 121,445, predominantly Muslim. Socioculturally, the area is characterized by a diverse multi-ethnic population, including Malays, Buginese, Madurese, Javanese, Dayaks, Chinese, and Batak, which creates a complex cultural dynamic.¹⁹ One enduring cultural practice within this diversity is the *ompangan* tradition, observed during marriage celebrations among the Madurese Muslim community. This tradition not only reflects local wisdom but also demonstrates how cultural values are preserved within a multi-ethnic social landscape.²⁰

In the context of wedding celebrations within the Madurese Muslim community of Sui Kakap, the *ompangan* tradition refers to the voluntary offering of gifts by invited guests to the host family.²¹ Etymologically, the term *ompangan* originates from the Madurese language, meaning provide assistance.²² This

¹⁶ See: Azman Ab Rahman et al., "Determination of Mudd Volume Using Gravimetric Method," *Advanced Science Letters* 23, no. 5 (May 1, 2017): 4557–59; Inayatillah Inayatillah et al., "Social History of Islamic Law from Gender Perspective in Aceh: A Study of Marriage Traditions in South Aceh, Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (October 7, 2022): 573–93.

¹⁷ See: Tatyana Sharaeva, "Kalmyk Wedding Rites: The Gift Exchange," *Монголоведение (Монгол Судлал)* 14, no. 3 (December 14, 2017): 13–22; Aida K. Amirkhanova and Aminat A. Bayramkulova, "Wedding Gift Exchange Among the Peoples of Dagestan: Traditions and Innovations," *History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Caucasus* 15, no. 4 (January 6, 2020): 783–99.

¹⁸ Karin Polit, "Gifts of Love and Friendship: On Changing Marriage Traditions, the Meaning of Gifts, and the Value of Women in the Garhwal Himalayas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 22, no. 2 (August 2018): 285–307.

¹⁹ BPS-Statistics Kubu Raya Regency, *Sungai Kakap District in Figures*, vol. 4 (Kubu Raya: BPS-Statistics Kubu Raya Regency, 2024), 1–34.

²⁰ Field Notes from Observation, November 2024.

²¹ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

²² Hosnol Hotimah, Ach. Baihaki, and Aminatus Zakhra, "Study Etnografi Pembayaran Ompangan Hajatan Pernikahan di Desa Batukerbuy Pamekasan," *Journal of Accounting and Financial Issue (JAFIS)* 4, no. 1 (May 29, 2023): 1–17.

assistance may take the form of basic necessities or cash, primarily intended to alleviate the host family's financial burden. The practice is not spontaneous; rather, it follows a structured and systematic sequence consisting of the delivery of wedding invitations; the giving of *ompangan* prior to the reception; the giving of *ompangan* during the reception; and the future reciprocation of *ompangan*.²³ These four stages are not merely administrative mechanisms; they embody patterns of social interaction that reinforce collective solidarity, maintain social responsibility, and ensure the continuity of reciprocal relations among community members. This tiered pattern reflects the multidimensional integration of social, economic, and cultural functions that are deeply internalized in the *ompangan* tradition.

The initial stage of delivering wedding invitations serves as the social entry point into the *ompangan* tradition. Invitations may be extended either orally or in writing, depending on the closeness of the relationship between the host family and the prospective guests. In practice, oral invitations are more prevalent, as they are perceived to be more effective in fostering emotional bonds and maintaining familial warmth within the Madurese community.²⁴ As noted by Imron, a community leader in Sui Kakap, “*When the invitation is extended verbally, it feels warmer. There’s an opportunity to chat and strengthen ties. Using only a card feels cold.*”²⁵ This statement underscores the importance of interpersonal communication in reinforcing social networks grounded in intimacy and familiarity, which form the foundation for the tradition's sustainability. The distribution of invitations, typically conducted between two weeks and one day before the event, carries strategic significance by allowing community members sufficient time to prepare their *ompangan*, which is regarded as a matter of social honor that cannot be neglected.

In the second stage, the giving of *ompangan* before the wedding reception, social dynamics begin to exhibit more complex shifts. During this phase, community participation is manifested through the direct offering of basic necessities, staple foods, or cash to the host family or organizing committee (see Figure 1). All contributions are meticulously recorded, serving not only administrative purposes but also functioning as a form of social control that ensures equitable reciprocation in the future.²⁶ As Sugianto explains, “*Everyone who gives is recorded. We don’t want to forget anyone because when they have an event, we can return the favor accordingly. That’s the custom.*”²⁷ This practice of record-keeping reveals a heightened communal awareness in maintaining symmetrical social relations, while also illustrating that the *ompangan* tradition has transformed from an expression of spontaneous solidarity into a more structured form of social calculation. Thus, interactions that were once rooted in affective values and customary practices have

²³ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition, October 10, 2024.

²⁴ Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition, October 11, 2024.

²⁵ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

²⁶ Imron.

²⁷ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family, November 17, 2024.

begun to adopt an instrumental logic, whereby *ompangan* is perceived as a social investment requiring long-term accountability.²⁸

Figure 1
Forms of *Ompangan* Prior to Wedding Celebrations



Source: Field Observation, November 2024.

The forms of *ompangan* offered exhibit significant diversity. Generally, *ompangan* is categorized into two main types: basic necessities and cash. Items such as cooking oil, eggs, rice, and sugar are selected for their practicality and immediate utility during the *walimah al-‘urs*.²⁹ Meanwhile, cash contributions provide the host family with greater flexibility in allocating funds to incidental expenses that may arise throughout the event.³⁰ Beyond material support, these forms of *ompangan* serve as vehicles for reinforcing social values such as *gotong royong*, solidarity, and togetherness, which are foundational to the Madurese social structure.³¹ However, in the context of increasingly rationalized social change, these forms of *ompangan* also reveal an emerging utilitarian value, implicitly signaling a shift in motivation from symbolic and affective values toward more pragmatic orientations.³²

In the third stage—giving *ompangan* during the wedding celebration—the social actions involved demonstrate an intensified pattern of rationalization. Guests typically contribute cash *ompangan*, which they deposit into a designated box

²⁸ Juan Du and Ruth Mace, “Marriage Stability in a Pastoralist Society,” ed. B Louise, *Behavioral Ecology* 30, no. 6 (November 8, 2019): 1567–74.

²⁹ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition. Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

³⁰ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride’s Family. Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

³¹ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition, September 29, 2024.

³² See: Barsukova, “Financial Rationality vs Traditions,” 128–40; A. Sarbassova et al., “A Linguacultural Analysis of Wedding Traditions and Marriage in Kazakh, English, and Chinese Paremiology,” *Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11, no. 1 (2025): 139–51.

located at strategic points, such as the entrance or the main stage (see Figure 2). The public recording of these contributions after the event further emphasizes the increased transparency within social participation.³³ This procedure signifies a shift from a trust-based, spontaneous act to an administrative process that enforces social control based on principles of formal justice. This pattern reinforces the observation that, within the broader context of social change in the Madurese community, *ompangan* is no longer solely governed by norms of voluntarism but is increasingly oriented toward measurable and well-documented social relations.

Figure 2
The *Ompangan* Box During Wedding Celebrations



Source: Field Observation, November 2024.

Finally, the fourth stage—the future reciprocation of *ompangan*—represents the most evident manifestation of the tradition's transformed meaning. The act of reciprocation, guided by previously recorded contributions, serves as a mechanism to maintain balance and prevent social disparities that could disrupt communal harmony. This process illustrates that *ompangan* has undergone a commodification of meaning, whereby the acts of giving and returning *ompangan* are no longer merely expressions of solidarity but are instead perceived as transactional social obligations. As articulated by Muhdor, a religious leader in Sui Kakap, “*For the Madurese, when you receive ompangan, you must reciprocate with at least the same amount when the giver holds a similar event. It’s not just a gift; it’s a matter of dignity and maintaining social ties.*”³⁴ In this context, honor and dignity are no longer solely symbols of natural kinship relations but have become components of social capital exchanged within a rigid and standardized framework of reciprocity. This shift affirms that the *ompangan* tradition within the Madurese Muslim community has

³³ Field Notes from Observation.

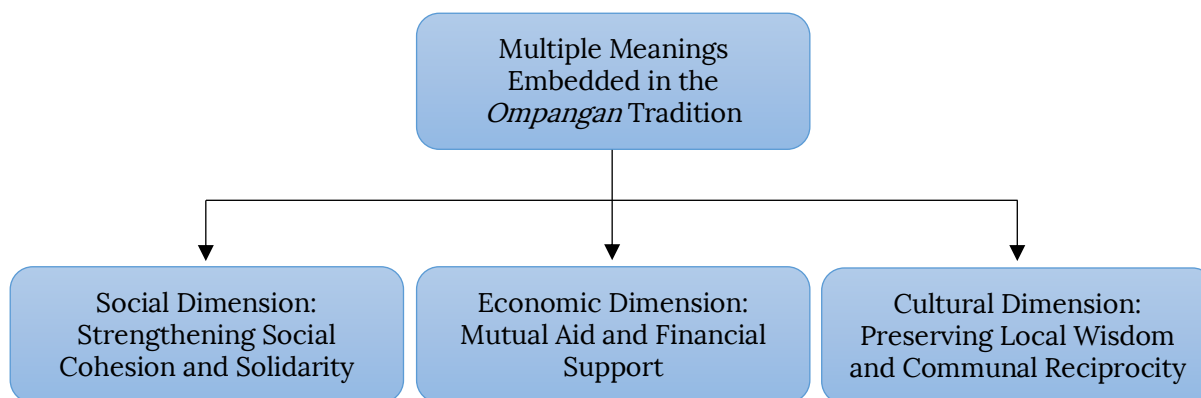
³⁴ Muhdor, Interview with a Religious Figure.

transformed from a social action rooted in traditional and affective values to one that is increasingly instrumental and rational,³⁵ adhering to a logic of calculation and anticipation of future social relations.

Social, Economic, and Cultural Dimensions of the *Ompangan* Tradition

The *ompangan* tradition, as practiced during wedding celebrations among the Madurese Muslim community in the Sui Kakap Subdistrict, represents a deeply multidimensional social practice that encompasses interwoven social, economic, and cultural aspects. These dimensions are not only functionally integrated into the community's social structure but also serve as foundational pillars for the value system that sustains social stability. Findings from this study reveal that *ompangan* is not merely understood as a customary practice of material gift-giving; it also functions as a mechanism of social reproduction that reinforces community harmony, strengthens social cohesion, and preserves local wisdom transmitted across generations.³⁶ All informants affirmed the strategic significance of this practice as a medium of exchange that simultaneously serves both individual and collective interests within a framework of enduring and sustainable solidarity.

Figure 3
The Dimensions of the *Ompangan* Tradition



Source: Interviews with Key Informants, 2024.

From a social perspective, the *ompangan* tradition is regarded as a fundamental medium for enhancing social integration among community members. The acts of giving and receiving *ompangan* are viewed as vehicles for reinforcing social bonds and serve as symbolic affirmations of solidarity that strengthen interpersonal relationships, particularly within kinship networks and neighborhood circles.³⁷ As Masira noted, this tradition carries profound emotional significance, implicitly reflecting the role of *ompangan* as a cultural mechanism that not only alleviates the financial burden on the host family but also functions as a means of reconstructing tighter social bonds in the face of accelerating social change that

³⁵ Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions," 128–40.

³⁶ Uji Nugroho Winardi, "Gotong Royong and the Transformation of Kampung Ledok Code, Yogyakarta," *City & Society* 32, no. 2 (August 2020): 375–86.

³⁷ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family.

threatens traditional values.³⁸ This context signifies a transition from affective, traditional practices to more organized and rational social relations in response to contemporary social dynamics.

In addition to its prominent social values, the economic dimension of *ompangan* is equally significant as a foundation for reinforcing collective solidarity within the Madurese community. In this context, *ompangan* functions as a community-based mechanism for economic redistribution, facilitating the equitable sharing of financial burdens, particularly given the substantial costs associated with wedding ceremonies. Imron emphasized this aspect, asserting that the *ompangan* tradition serves as a collective channel through which the community collectively bears uneven economic burdens.³⁹ This phenomenon illustrates how practices initially rooted in communal solidarity have gradually evolved into more structured forms of social calculation, with *ompangan* becoming an integral part of the community's adaptive strategy for managing economic risks and maintaining social stability.⁴⁰

At the cultural level, *ompangan* is institutionalized as an expression of local wisdom, reflecting the values of *gotong royong*, social solidarity, and the continuity of social relations through structured procedures. This tradition internalizes collective values that are operationalized through systematic invitation methods, phased contributions, detailed record-keeping, and strict reciprocal obligations. As Tohir noted, “*The ompangan tradition among the Madurese Muslim community in Sui Kakap is a form of local wisdom that embodies the values of mutual cooperation and social solidarity.*”⁴¹ This structure highlights the process of rationalization within the *ompangan* tradition, integrating traditional values with adaptations to increasingly complex socio-economic dynamics, thereby ensuring the continuity of this tradition as both a marker of cultural identity and a pragmatic tool for social resilience.⁴²

Holistically, the *ompangan* tradition can be understood as a cultural mechanism that addresses economic needs, fosters social cohesion, and preserves local cultural values. Through its four structured procedural phases—invitation, initial contributions, contributions during the reception, and future reciprocation—this practice is meticulously managed to ensure transparency, fairness, and collective trust, all of which strengthen social bonds. Bunlimah affirmed that this practice is not solely materially oriented; rather, it serves as a crucial instrument for reinforcing solidarity and togetherness, which are vital to the social fabric of the

³⁸ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

³⁹ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

⁴⁰ Fatjri Nur Tajuddin and Afidatul Asmar, “The Socio-Economic Transformation in Makassar Tribe Gift-Giving Tradition: Reconstructing Social Welfare Strategy,” *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 16, no. 2 (August 26, 2024): 19–26.

⁴¹ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁴² Kismullah Abdul Muthalib, Dohra Fitrisia, and Nia Zahara, “Ceremonial Language and Social Cohesion: An Analysis of Seumapa in Acehese Wedding Traditions,” *Studies in English Language and Education* 11, no. 2 (June 13, 2024): 1231–47.

Madurese community.⁴³ Thus, although rooted in material exchanges, the social function of *ompangan* has evolved into a system that accommodates the transformation of community values in response to increasingly complex social changes.⁴⁴

Record-Keeping in the *Ompangan* Tradition: Strengthening Social Relationships and Preventing Conflict

Within the Madurese Muslim community in Sui Kakap, the *ompangan* tradition in wedding celebrations plays a crucial role as a medium for fostering social solidarity and enhancing interpersonal relationships within the community. *Ompangan* is not merely perceived as a material act of giving; rather, it is a social practice that affirms reciprocal relationships, strengthens social trust, and ensures the continuity of *gotong royong*, a fundamental pillar of communal life.⁴⁵ In the context of diaspora communities like Sui Kakap, *ompangan* has evolved into a more organized mechanism for preserving cultural identity while maintaining social cohesion amid increasingly dynamic socio-economic mobility. In this context, record-keeping has emerged as a strategic innovation, addressing the need for more systematic and adaptive management in response to change.

Figure 4
The *Ompangan* Record Book

No	Nama	Alamat	Sumbar
1	Mak Niri	Pak 2	100.000
2	Mak Bulasan	Gg Keluarga	20.000
3	Mak Usup		50.000
4	Mak Lambi		100.000
5	Kelzah	Kalimas Hulu	50.000
6	Pak Rusi	Gg Keluarga	50.000
7	Buk Telang	Kampung Uwar	50.000
8	Holis	Gg Delima	100.000
9	TOTO mitra abadi	Perdamaian	50.000
10	Sam star grup		200.000
11	Maksum	Paret Rambay	50.000
12	Hecman Syarifah		100.000
13	Sardien	Gg. Ojdon baru 2	150.000
14	Bak Salan	Perutis	100.000
15	Bani	Peritran	100.000
16	H. Ridan	Peritran	50.000
17	Murham	Gg. Darobah	50.000
18	Holli	Paret manuan	50.000
19	Sarikun	Paret manuan	100.000
20	Sagilun	Paret manuan	50.000
21	Kak Nur	Gg Hanapi	700.000
22	Yudi	Cundana Primb. Bay	150.000
23	Saduma	Peritran	50.000
24	Margo Ayu Nira	Kalimas Hulu	50.000
25	Wedi		50.000
26	H. Madjudi	Kalimas Hulu	100.000
27	Man Jodot	Kalimas	300.000
28	Sabri	Paret Sorong	150.000
29	Hebib Amin	Jl. Farina	200.000
30	Dona	Peritran	50.000
31	Suhram	Paret Wat. Gatak	50.000
32	H. Sauri	Paret Sorong	500.000
33	Sulrah	Paret Sorong	250.000
34	Sudjwo	Wakil bupati	100.000
35	Abah	Kalimas	100.000
36	Nardi	Paret Wat. Gatak	150.000
37	Bulhan	Paret Masukan	100.000

Date	NAMA	OMPANG	Alamat
	Pak Rami	Aqua 15 dus	Swadaya
	JUMINTEN	Bulu 2 remphok	Paret Sorong
	Saditah	Gula ketut	Paret Sorong
	Bun. Jalm	Gula 5 kg	Kalimas
	Sahit	500.000.00	Phutggur
	Abdul	pheres 10 kg Bangk	Kalimas
	Saditah	pheres Hiyar	Kalimas
	Misjuri	Aqua 10 dus	Kalimas
	Fatimah	Bulu Maras 3	Kalimas
	Maita	200.000.00	Kalimas
	Siti	Berom 2	Kalimas
	Rofiah	Bulu 3 remphok	Kalimas
	NARTO	500.000.00	Paret Sorong
	Khoiriyah	Paret Meres Solongor	Kalimas
	Faliyah	Serdal	pal 9
	Gwiti	Bulu laras	Kalimas
	Madi	pheres 10kg (Mersi)	Paret Wat. Gatak
	Supeki	Minyak sovia 5	Kalimas
	Bulimah	Bulu pandan 3 remphok	Kalimas
	Rahma	Minyak FIIMA 10	Swadaya
	Romlah	Bede thas	Kalimas
	Kak Nur	200.000	Paret Sorong

Source: Document provided by Sugianto, 2024.

⁴³ Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁴⁴ See: R. Van Dijk, "The Social Cocktail: Weddings and the Innovative Mixing of Competences in Botswana," *African Dynamics* 11 (2012): 191–207; Juliette Cleuziou, "Traditionalization, or the Making of a Reputation: Women, Weddings and Expenditure in Tajikistan," *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 346–62.

⁴⁵ Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions," 128–40.

The urgency of *ompangan* record-keeping lies in its role as a formal instrument that clarifies reciprocal relationships among individuals within the community. Through structured documentation, every instance of *ompangan* is accurately recorded, legitimizing the rights and obligations of both the giver and the recipient. This mechanism is essential for avoiding misunderstandings, preventing potential conflicts, and ensuring transparency, which forms the fundamental basis of social trust.⁴⁶ As Masira noted, record-keeping facilitates the management of *ompangan* reciprocation while serving as a means of legitimization that reinforces the reciprocal norms underpinning the cohesion of the Madurese community.⁴⁷ Therefore, *ompangan* records function not merely as administrative tools but also as preventive mechanisms that maintain social harmony and prevent disruptions in the social order.

Beyond administration, *ompangan* record-keeping plays a critical role in reinforcing the informal yet socially significant structures of the community. Systematic records enable the community to clearly trace the history of *ompangan* contributions, ensuring fairness in reciprocal relations and allowing social participation to be monitored through collective oversight that is internalized within social norms.⁴⁸ As Tohir described, manual record-keeping serves as an effective tool for social control, preserving individual reputations within the community; any deviation from reciprocal norms is known and may diminish one's social standing.⁴⁹ This data highlights that record-keeping functions not only as a mechanism for managing material contributions but also as a collective moral ledger that reinforces justice within the community's social relations.

Additionally, *ompangan* record-keeping functions as a means of strengthening informal social structures with significant social implications. By maintaining records, community members can easily track who has given *ompangan*, to whom, in what amount, and when.⁵⁰ These records serve as a collective moral guide that encourages individuals to maintain balance in their social relationships. Record-keeping also acts as an effective mechanism of social control, as the community can readily identify those who neglect to reciprocate, potentially impacting their social reputation. As Tohir recounted, "*From my experience, ompangan contributions are recorded in a book. For instance, if Surtini brings staples like eggs, rice, milk, or flour, her name and the items are recorded. This ensures that when it comes time to reciprocate, no mistakes are made.*"⁵¹ This data underscores that record-keeping

⁴⁶ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family. Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁴⁷ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁴⁸ Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions," 128–40.

⁴⁹ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁵⁰ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

⁵¹ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

ensures accuracy in future *ompangan* reciprocation, thereby reinforcing its role as a social mechanism that upholds justice and harmony within the community.⁵²

The method of *ompangan* record-keeping, as practiced by the Madurese Muslim community in Sui Kakap, is generally straightforward yet systematic. Records are maintained in a dedicated notebook or ledger kept by the family organizing the wedding (see Figure 4).⁵³ Typically, the records include the giver's name and address, the type or amount of *ompangan* given, and the date of the celebration. The responsibility for record-keeping falls on the host family or a designated family member.⁵⁴ Despite being a manual process, this practice reflects the community's collective awareness of the importance of archiving as part of the family's social responsibility. In some cases, these records are even passed down through generations, serving as references for future social strategies.⁵⁵

The primary purpose of *ompangan* record-keeping is to ensure social justice in the practice of giving and receiving wedding *ompangan*. As Masira stated, "*The benefit of keeping records is so you don't forget what someone has given. That way, when it's time to return the favor, you can just check the book.*"⁵⁶ With such records, recipient families can easily remember and fulfill their social obligations when the giver hosts a similar event.⁵⁷ This practice not only reinforces reciprocal values but also safeguards family dignity and honor within the Madurese cultural context, which highly esteems the principles of reciprocity and collective solidarity. Imron noted, "*What makes reciprocating ompangan burdensome is when several givers hold events at the same time. It's a burden, but it's our tradition.*"⁵⁸ This observation illustrates that the principle of reciprocity in *ompangan*—giving back during similar occasions—is deeply embedded, with record-keeping serving as a mechanism to maintain social stability and prevent tensions that could disrupt harmonious community relations.⁵⁹ Thus, *ompangan* record-keeping functions not only as a practical tool but also as a strategic mechanism that reproduces and transforms the noble values of the Madurese community amid increasingly complex social changes.⁶⁰

⁵² Karin Polit, "Gifts of Love and Friendship: On Changing Marriage Traditions, the Meaning of Gifts, and the Value of Women in the Garhwal Himalayas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 22, no. 2 (August 2018): 285–307.

⁵³ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁵⁴ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family. Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁵⁵ Xi Chen, "Gift-Giving and Network Structure in Rural China: Utilizing Long-Term Spontaneous Gift Records," ed. David L. Roberts, *PLoS ONE* 9, no. 8 (August 11, 2014): e102104.

⁵⁶ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁵⁷ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family.

⁵⁸ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

⁵⁹ Tohir, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁶⁰ Yazid et al., "The Role of Bales Nae Tradition in Strengthening Family Harmony and Social Cohesion in the Sasak Community of Lombok, Indonesia," 79–94.

The Ambivalent Economic Impact of the *Ompangan* Tradition: Balancing Social Solidarity and Financial Burden

The *ompangan* tradition, an enduring expression of social solidarity deeply rooted in the Madurese Muslim community, serves as an economic redistribution mechanism based on kinship values and local communal norms. In practice, this tradition not only strengthens social networks but also acts as a vital tool for alleviating the economic burden faced by host families, particularly during the organization of marriage ceremonies. *Ompangan* fosters a collective ecosystem of reciprocal support, where each individual has a moral obligation to contribute to easing the social burdens of others.⁶¹ As Masira noted, “*Ompangan greatly assists the host family; without it, the expenses of the event might not be met.*”⁶² This statement illustrates how the *ompangan* tradition becomes a platform for economic negotiation, enabling financially constrained community members to fulfill social rituals with dignity and a sense of fairness.⁶³

Nevertheless, the findings from the fieldwork indicate an inherent ambivalence within the practice of *ompangan*. On one hand, *ompangan* reinforces social cohesion through symbolic exchanges that bind community members within a robust network of solidarity. On the other hand, this practice can also create new economic pressures, particularly when reciprocation is expected from multiple parties simultaneously. As Sugianto noted, “*When ompangan has to be repaid to three or five people at once, it's very burdensome—especially if the events are held around the same time. Sometimes we have to borrow money or reduce basic household expenses first.*”⁶⁴ This phenomenon highlights a paradox within the *ompangan* tradition, where practices that were once rooted in affective and traditional actions are gradually shifting toward more structured, calculative behaviors, necessitating rational consideration of their economic consequences.⁶⁵

In terms of social administration, the Madurese Muslim community has developed increasingly organized *ompangan* record-keeping systems, both within and between villages. These detailed records not only serve as administrative documentation but also fulfill a social function by ensuring transparency and fairness in future reciprocations.⁶⁶ As Imron emphasized, “*Every ompangan is recorded, even those from other villages, to make sure it's clear who has and hasn't been repaid.*”⁶⁷ This practice reflects a high level of collective awareness regarding the importance of maintaining the integrity of fair and accountable social relations. Nonetheless, despite the standardization of record-keeping as a social norm, field

⁶¹ Muhdor, Interview with a Religious Figure.

⁶² Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁶³ Julia Pauli and Francois Dawids, “The Struggle for Marriage: Elite and Non-Elite Weddings in Rural Namibia,” *Anthropology Southern Africa* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 15–28.

⁶⁴ Sugianto, Interview with a Member of the Bride's Family.

⁶⁵ Svetlana Barsukova, “Bank Loans vs Debt within Social Networks: The Case of Central Asia,” *Terra Economicus* 20, no. 3 (September 25, 2022): 87–97.

⁶⁶ Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁶⁷ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

data indicate that the community continues to experience significant social burdens, particularly when delays or failures in reciprocation occur. This situation highlights that the rationalization of *ompangan* practices does not automatically eliminate social tensions arising from economic inequalities within the community.⁶⁸

Furthermore, inequitable reciprocation—whether in value or quality—often triggers informal yet socially significant sanctions within the Madurese community. As Bunlimah articulated, “*If the returned ompangan is inadequate, it becomes gossip. Villagers will remember, and it can bring shame to the family.*”⁶⁹ This situation underscores the reality that the *ompangan* tradition is not merely governed by symbolic norms; it also carries serious social consequences. Violations of reciprocity norms may lead to social exclusion or negative stigmatization of individuals or families. Moreover, in the context of social inequalities, *ompangan* has the potential to exacerbate divisions between economically privileged groups and those with limited financial means. This tendency fuels social jealousy and symbolic segregation, posing a threat to the social stability and integration that have long served as the cohesive force of the Madurese community. Imron’s observation that wealthier individuals tend to offer larger *ompangan* while poorer households struggle to meet these evolving standards further affirms that *ompangan* may become a latent source of conflict capable of undermining community harmony.⁷⁰

The implications of the ambivalence embedded in the *ompangan* tradition extend beyond its economic dimension, reaching into the social and customary legal domains within the Madurese Muslim community. Socially, *ompangan* remains a vital element that fosters solidarity and preserves communal identity. However, without adaptive management that is sensitive to changing socio-economic contexts, the tradition risks becoming a new source of injustice that undermines the spirit of *gotong royong* traditionally upheld by the community. Normatively, although *ompangan* does not possess formal legal authority, it holds a strong regulatory force legitimized through social norms and informal customary sanctions, which, while unwritten, carry significant coercive power. Therefore, within a broader context, the *ompangan* tradition requires recontextualization and more inclusive social governance that can accommodate the community’s diverse economic capacities. This is essential to ensure that the collective values embedded within *ompangan* do not transform into instruments of social pressure that exacerbate disparities and perpetuate injustices within the community.⁷¹

⁶⁸ See: Polit, “Gifts of Love and Friendship,” 285–307; B. Judit, “Gifts at Weddings in Ghimes in Light of Marcel Mauss’ Model of Gift Exchange,” *Ethnographia* 129, no. 3 (2018): 429–47.

⁶⁹ Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁷⁰ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

⁷¹ See: Wardah Nuroniyah and Bani Syarif Maula, “Muslim Women Adhering to Minangkabau’s Bajapuik Tradition in Cirebon, West Java: Compromizing a Gendered Culture in Islamic Law,” *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 2 (November 30, 2022): 135–54; Alexander Soucy, “Wedding Invitations and Relationship Management in Hanoi,” *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (March 15, 2014): 141–57.

The Shift in Values within the *Ompangan* Tradition: From Social Solidarity to Transactional Relationships

The *ompangan* tradition, deeply rooted in the Madurese Muslim community, embodies a practice of social solidarity that has been internalized within the community's social structures over generations. In its early development, this tradition emphasized collective solidarity based on familial bonds, *gotong royong*, and values of sincerity, forming the foundation of social relations among the Madurese people. *Ompangan* functioned as an informal mechanism for economic redistribution, where exchanges of assistance were not regulated by formal legal frameworks but were guided by fluid social and customary norms grounded in trust. Over time, however, the tradition has undergone significant transformations in value, signaling a paradigmatic shift from an orientation centered on social solidarity to increasingly transactional social relations. This shift reflects a growing tendency to institutionalize reciprocal obligations within the *ompangan* tradition, which, in turn, has reshaped how the community interprets and practices this tradition, including its implications for the reconstruction of customary legal norms that have historically governed it.

Field findings reinforce the evidence of this value shift. Masira, for example, highlighted the fundamental difference between past and present *ompangan* practices: “*In the past, ompangan was given sincerely, with no expectation of reciprocation from the host. However, today, if we give ompangan, such as 5 kg of rice, the host is expected to reciprocate when we hold a similar event.*”⁷² Similarly, Simun noted that contemporary *ompangan* practices more closely resemble a *qard* (loan) contract than a *hibah*, as community members now provide *ompangan* with the expectation of receiving equivalent returns in the future.⁷³ This data explicitly reveals a shift in social norms from giving without expecting a return to giving with an expectation of return, where material considerations and rational calculations increasingly dominate what was once an altruistically driven social practice. This transformation not only illustrates changes in communal behavior but also signals a broader shift in the community's value system, leading to a reorientation of social structures within Madurese society.

From the perspective of Islamic economic jurisprudence, this transformation carries significant normative implications. Ideally, the *ompangan* tradition—rooted in the *hibah* contract—should not entail any expectation of reciprocation.⁷⁴ However, in contemporary Madurese society, *ompangan* has been de facto treated as a social debt requiring repayment. Muhdor reinforced this notion by asserting that *ompangan* records now serve as moral evidence, obliging recipients to fulfill their

⁷² Masira, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁷³ Simun, Interview with a Religious Figure, November 11, 2024.

⁷⁴ Purnama Hidayah Harahap et al., “Religious Court Decisions Regarding the Revocation of Grant (Hibah) in the Perspective of Islamic Jurisprudence,” *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 17, no. 2 (November 17, 2023): 233–48.

social debt when the giver hosts a similar event.⁷⁵ This phenomenon illustrates a normative shift in which the practice, while not formally meeting the Islamic jurisprudence requirements of *qard*, has socially transitioned from a *hibah* to a *qard*-like arrangement. This process represents a substantial transformation in social order, wherein calculative logic and predictive assessments of reciprocity have become more prominent,⁷⁶ marking a transition from traditional, value-driven actions to more instrumental and structured social practices.

This transformation can be understood as a process of the adaptation of transactional law, in which customary norms—previously characterized by flexibility—have evolved into more rigid, quasi-legal standards, reinforced by communal social pressures. As Bunlimah observed, the practice of recording *ompangan* now serves not only as administrative bookkeeping but also as a mechanism of social control, generating gossip and stigma for those who fail to reciprocate adequately.⁷⁷ Consequently, informal social sanctions function similarly to legal penalties within Madurese social relations. Furthermore, this shift in values reflects the impact of modernization, which introduces rational and calculative mindsets into traditional spheres.⁷⁸ As Imron noted, the predominant use of money as the form of *ompangan* today exemplifies the monetization of this tradition,⁷⁹ creating standardized values that are easily quantifiable while simultaneously eroding the symbolic, spiritual, and emotional dimensions that were once integral to the giving of goods.⁸⁰

From a socio-legal perspective, this transformation underscores the growing tensions between customary norms rooted in social solidarity and modern values that are increasingly individualistic and calculative.⁸¹ Such tensions create the potential for value conflicts that threaten community cohesion, particularly as transactional logics become dominant and undermine the collective and spiritual values that underpin traditional practices.⁸² In the realm of customary law, this shift signifies the internalization of new norms that, while lacking formal legal authority, exert significant regulatory effectiveness through social pressures, collective expectations, and stigma. Consequently, the *ompangan* tradition has evolved from a practice of mutual assistance based on local wisdom into a structured social mechanism within a more pragmatic and materialistic framework of customary law. This situation necessitates the strengthening of adaptive and participatory customary legal mechanisms to ensure that the values of social solidarity at the core

⁷⁵ Muhdor, Interview with a Religious Figure.

⁷⁶ Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions," 128–40.

⁷⁷ Bunlimah, Interview with a Member of the Madurese Muslim Community that Engages in the *Ompangan* Tradition.

⁷⁸ Larisa Popova and Aliya Shalmanova, "Traditional Component in the Wedding Gift System of the Kazakhs of the Aktobe Region, Republic of Kazakhstan," *Kunstkamera* 14, no. 4 (2021): 141–52.

⁷⁹ Imron, Interview with a Community Figure.

⁸⁰ Shani, Danziger, and Zeelenberg, "The Dark Side of Giving Monetary Gifts," 161.

⁸¹ Tajuddin and Asmar, "The Socio-Economic Transformation in Makassar Tribe Gift-Giving Tradition," 19–26.

⁸² Barsukova, "Financial Rationality vs Traditions," 128–40.

of the *ompangan* tradition are not entirely eroded by rigid transactional logics, which risk perpetuating new forms of injustice within the community.⁸³

Conclusion

The *ompangan* tradition, as practiced during wedding celebrations by the Madurese Muslim community in the Sui Kakap Subdistrict, has undergone a significant transformation in its value orientation—from voluntary social solidarity to more transactional social relations. This shift is characterized by a change in the community's behavioral orientation, moving from affective and tradition-based social actions to more calculative and instrumental forms of interaction. In this context, *ompangan* is no longer perceived as a *hibah* (unconditional gift) but rather as a moral obligation that must be reciprocated with equivalent value. The increasingly systematic practice of *ompangan* record-keeping further reinforces the emergence of a quasi-legal framework of social control, which rigidly governs reciprocal relations and is accompanied by social sanctions and stigmatization directed at those who fail to meet communal expectations. This phenomenon not only reproduces more hierarchical and materialistic social relations but also blurs the distinction between local wisdom rooted in solidarity and social practices that tend to exacerbate inequality and symbolic segregation within the community.

The implications of these findings suggest that unless the *ompangan* tradition is managed in a more adaptive and participatory manner, it risks becoming a social instrument that reinforces transactional logic within customary spaces that are ideally collective and egalitarian. Consequently, there is an urgent need to recontextualize the role of customary law within a more progressive framework capable of accommodating increasingly complex socio-economic dynamics without undermining the foundational social solidarity that underpins the tradition. While this study has provided an in-depth analysis of the value transformations within the *ompangan* tradition, its limitations lie in the scope of the research, which remains confined to the Madurese Muslim community within a single subdistrict and does not yet incorporate perspectives on gender and generational dynamics that may reveal alternative interpretations and practices. Therefore, future research is recommended to explore the *ompangan* tradition in broader contexts, incorporating intersections of class, gender, and generation as critical variables in understanding the complexity of value transformations within religious and customary social practices in the contemporary era.

⁸³ See: Jan Bazyli Klakla, "Customary Law Is Like an Onion: A Multilayered Approach to Customary Law and Its Status in the Contemporary World," in *Law and Culture*, ed. Mateusz Stepień and Jan Bazyli Klakla, vol. 5, Law and Visual Jurisprudence (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 35–54; Juan Ramos López, Jim Rivelino Paucca Gomez, and Félix Rojas Orellana, "Legal Pluralism and Customary Law in Andean Communities: The Case of the Casaorcco Community, Ayacucho, 2020," *Edelweiss Applied Science and Technology* 9, no. 3 (March 8, 2025): 651–59; Suaidi Suaidi, Ali Sodiqin, and Abdur Rozaki, "A Critique of Contemporary Economic Justice and Sharia Economic Law on the Tompangan Tradition," *Jurnal Hukum Islam* 22, no. 2 (November 21, 2024): 249–80.

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